

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT EVANS AND NOVAK OP-ED PAGE COLUMN
THE WASHINGTON POST THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 16 HEADED "SILENCE
ON SALT."

2. QUIET ANXIETY AMONG HARD-LINERS OVER WHAT COURSE ON
SALT PRESIDENT FORD WILL TAKE IF HE IS ELECTED HAS BEEN
HEIGHTENED BY HIS FAILURE TO ANSWER PERSONALLY A REQUEST
FROM A CAPITOL HILL SUPPORTER FOR HIS THINKING ABOUT ARMS
CONTROL.

3. REP. JACK KEMP OF NEW YORK, A CONSERVATIVE UPSTATE
REPUBLICAN AND BUDDING EXPERT ON DEFENSE QUESTIONS, WROTE
MR. FORD AUG. 16 FOLLOWING A PERSONAL EXCHANGE WITH THE
PRESIDENT A WEEK EARLIER. IN THE LETTER, KEMP REPEATED
WHAT HE HAD ASKED IN PERSON: "THE QUESTION ... OF WHETHER
THE ISSUE OF SALT TRANSCENDS ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS OF
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION."

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4. NO ANSWER WAS RECEIVED FROM THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, AND

KEMP WAS NOT SATISFIED BY AN UNRESPONSIVE REPLY THIS WEEK FROM A SENIOR PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER. ALL THIS DOES NOT

ALLAY SUSPICION THAT MR. FORD INTENDS TO NEGOTIATE A NEW SALT (STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS) AGREEMENT ON TERMS THAT CONGRESSIONAL AND PENTAGON HARD-LINDERS CONSIDER TOO FAVORABLE TO THE SOVIETS.

5. INDEED, FEAR HAS PERSISTED THAT MR. FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER WOULD STILL TRY TO SQUEEZE OUT A SALT II AGREEMENT BEFORE THE NOV. 2 ELECTION. THAT IS NOW UNLIKELY IN THE EXTREME, THANKS TO THE TIME SQUEEZE AND THE KREMLIN'S CAUTION IN DEALING WITH A POTENTIAL LAME DUCK.

6. BUT IF MR. FORD IS ELECTED, THERE IS NO DOUBT OF A POST-ELECTION PUSH FOR A TREATY LIKELY TO CONTAIN A CONCESSION TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE HARD-LINERS: VIRTUAL ABANDONMENT OF U.S. CRUISE MISSILES. THIS APPREHENSION IS DEEPENED BY THE PROBABLE DEPARTURE OF DR. FRED IKLE, ARMS CONTROL AGENCY DIRECTOR WHO IN HIS SOFT-SPOKEN WAY HAS COURAGEOUSLY FOUGHT AGAINST EXCESSIVE CONCESSIONS ON SALT. NEITHER MR. FORD NOR DR. KISSINGER HAS BEEN HAPPY WITH IKLE'S FREQUENT DISSENTS, AND HE WILL BE GONE AFTER THE ELECTION.

7. LIKE MANY OTHER REPUBLICAN CRITICS OF KISSINGER'S SALT POLICIES, KEMP SUPPORTS THE PRESIDENT, COME WHAT MAY, AND WILL SERVE AS A FORD CAMPAIGN "ADVOCATE." BUT LESS PARTISAN HARD-LINERS WONDER WHETHER JIMMY CARTER, HIS POSITION A MYSTERY, CAN POSSIBLY BE ANY WORSE ON SALT THAN THE FORD-KISSINGER TEAM. THE PRESIDENT'S NON-RESPONSE TO KEMP ONLY CONFIRMS THOSE DOUBTS.

8. THE FORD-KEMP DIALOGUE BEGAN THE WEEK BEFORE AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION WHEN THE PRESIDENT DINED PRIVATELY AT THE CAPITOL HILL CLUB WITH THE GOOD GUYS, AN ORGANIZATION OF CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN. ALL WENT SMOOTHLY UNTIL JACK KEMP ROSE DURING THE QUESTION PERIOD.

9. KEMP QUESTIONED KISSINGER'S PRESENCE IN MOSCOW SEEKING UNCLASSIFIED

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A SALT AGREEMENT WHILE THE KREMLIN WAS FINANCING COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA. MORE BROADLY, KEMP ASKED WHETHER MR. FORD'S OVERRIDING DESIRE FOR SALT II INDUCED HIM TO OVERLOOK NOT ONLY MOSCOW'S AFRICAN ADVENTURES BUT ALSO ITS REFUSAL TO OBEY THE HELSINKI TREATY, ITS VIOLATION OF SALT I AND ITS MUSCULAR QUEST FOR STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY.

10. JERRY FORD, NORMALLY SO PATIENT WITH OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

WAS CLEARLY IRRITATED--JUST AS HE HAS BEEN WHEN KISSINGER'S VIEWS ARE CONTRADICTED IN TOP SECRET SESSIONS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. HE LECTURED KEMP RATHER SHARPLY, DECLARING HE OUGHT TO KNOW SALT IS A FAR GREATER ADVANTAGE TO

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THE U.S. THAN TO THE SOVIET UNION. THEN, CONCLUDING ON A SOFTER NOTE, HE SUGGESTED KEMP WRITE HIM AS A PRELUDE TO FURTHER DISCUSSION.

11. THAT RESULTED IN KEMP'S THREE-PAGE LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT AUG. 16. AFTER DETAILING THE KREMLIN'S MASSIVE ARMS ADVANCES, KEMP WARNED THAT SALT I ACTUALLY "OPENED TO THE SOVIETS THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY AND A DANGEROUS PREEMPTIVE FIRST-STRIKE CAPABILITY."

12. KEMP THEN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SALT II TREATY TAKING SHAPE, ADDING: "NO TREATY IS PREFERABLE TO ONE THAT ALLOWS THE SOVIET UNION TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF ITS STRATEGIC PROGRAMS WHILE HANDCUFFING THE ABILITY OF THE U.S. TO REDRESS THE EMERGING STRATEGIC IMBALANCE THAT IS A GREAT THREAT TO PEACE IN THE WORLD."

13. KEMP ENCOUNTERED THE PRESIDENT PUBLICLY ON TWO OCCASIONS AFTER HE WROTE HIS LETTER. MR. FORD EACH TIME REITERATED HIS DESIRE FOR A GOOD, LONG CHAT ON ARMS CONTROL. BUT NOT EVEN A WRITTEN REPLY FROM THE PRESIDENT, MUCH LESS A LONG CHAT, FOLLOWED.

14. SHORTLY BEFORE LABOR DAY, KEMP JOGGED THE WHITE HOUSE WITH A TELEPHONE CALL. THE RESULT: A LETTER RECEIVED SEPT. 14, NOT FROM THE PRESIDENT BUT FROM HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, LT. GEN. BRENT SCOWCROFT. KEMP CONSIDERED IT UNCLASSIFIED

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UNRESPONSIVE.

15. THE PRESIDENT OBVIOUSLY WANTS NO PRE-ELECTION DISCUSSION OF SALT, PARTICULARLY SINCE CARTER HAS BEEN OBLIGING ENOUGH NOT TO BRING IT UP IN HIS CAMPAIGN, BUT THIS SILENCE ON SALT ONLY VALIDATES THE NIGHTMARES OF THE HARDLINERS ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF GERALD FORD IS ELECTED TO A FULL TERM. (END TEXT.) HABIB

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